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FILE NO.347

pp. 5463 to end

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INTERNATIONAL TRADE DISTRIBUTION

### FROM GENEVA TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(United Kingdom Delegation)

No. 765

D. 4.27 p.m. 23rd June, 1947

23rd June, 1947

R. 5.35 p.m. 23rd June, 1947

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#### IMMEDIATE

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NEUTRAL

Your telegram No. 766.

You will by now have had our 756 which we think answers your queries.

2. Harpham is leaving Geneva for United Kingdom by train Tuesday 24th June and will be contacting Stevens and Parker.

OFFICE,

51863

32003 F.O.P

5-187

E 5585 Parliamentary Question

hab.

\* 23. Mr. Janner,—To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, if he is aware that the Government of Iraq is refusing to allow goods to pass in transit through Iraq to Palestine; and what steps he proposes to take in order to prevent this clog on international trade. [Monday 23rd June.]

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Tel. 15 Baydal

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Now su Bayland telegram one. 573 ( copy attached). The Trage action, like that of the Egypticin formment in proliting handly goods from Palestine, is an externain of the original Arab boyest. We protested when Egypt extended the byselt to transit trade. 9 think we are found to do so again, though admittedly un han little hance of persuading the trage formment to change to minde. To refrain from protesting world also encourage the Anada to believe that Antiel 23 7 th 1 To thenter is littly to he a dead letter, and this in do not wish to do ( see E \*\*\*

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and E 4393, allahul).
Menne hile 9 allarl a dreft answer W Mr. Jenne.

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#### DRAFT REPLY

No. 23. Mr. Janner. 23rd June.

143.27c

authorities have recently decided to prohibit the transit of goods through Iraq to Palestine. H.M. Government are considering what action they will take in view of this economic discrimination against a territory under British mandate.

Yer, Siv. My R.H.F. is commence where action he will take

<sup>2</sup>1/6.

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PARLIATIONARY

## QUESTION.

#### IRAQ (TRANSIT EMBARGO)

56. Mr. Janner asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if he is aware that the Government of Iraq is refusing to allow goods to pass in transit through Iraq to Palestine; and what steps he proposes to take in order to prevent this clog on international trade.

Mr. Mayhew: Yes, Sir. My right hon. Friend is considering what action he will take.

Mr. Janner: Yes, but in view of the serious nature of this interference, will those steps be taken immediately, and will my hon. Friend see to it that there will be no delay at all?

Mr. Mayhew: Yes, Sir, we will certainly take them as quickly as we can.

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Registry No. E5587/347/31

> Top Secret. Secret. Confidential. Restricted. Open.

Draft.

Mr. Ayman

Colonial Office

(from Mr. Beeley)

Copy to: Mrs. Marsh Board of Trade.

FOREIGN OFFICE, S. W. 1.

July 1947

Please refer to Garran's letter [E3676/347/31] of the 28th May to Trafford Smith, on the subject/of the boycott imposed by the Arab States of Palestinian Jewish goods.

You will now have received a copy of a letter to Garran from Mrs. Marsh, Board of Trade, dated 24th June, and expressing agreement with the view that there is nothing to be gained by the use of arguments connected with the I.T.O. in any further representations that may be made to the Arab Governments.

Meanyhile, it appears from the discussions now in progress at Geneva that the existance of the boycott of Jewish goods may be an obstacle to Arab membership of the International Trade Organization. Since, however, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Employment, to which the draft char of the I.T.O. will be submitted, is not likely to take place until after discussion of the Palestine problem by the General Assembly at its next session, there is some chance that the Palestine situation will have entered a new phase before the Arab Governments are faced with the necessity for a decision on the relationship of their boycott with the requirements of membership in the I.T.O.

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it may be easier to resolve the problem created by the boycott. In any event we do not think the Arab Governments are likely to pay much attention to any representations we may make during the present preparatory stage of negotiation for the establishment of the I.T.O.

We should therefore prefer to keep the general question of the boycott in cold storage until, with the approach of the plenary Conference of Trade and Employment, can make our representations with more hope of success.

concur in it, need not of course affect
any action which the Palestine Government
may wish to take on the basis of the
Egyptian-Palestine Trade Agreement of 1944
(see the 1th paragraph of Mrs. Marsh's
letter unknown reference). We are also
considering the possibility of making
representations to the Government of Iraq
on the limited question of their recent
extension of the boycott to cover the
transit of goods through Iraq to Palestine.
I am sending a copy of this

I am sending a copy of this letter to Mrs. Marsh of the Board of Trade.

THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE,

Telephone No.: WHITEHALL 5140

ny reply to this communication suld quote the following reference:

C.R.T. 422/46.

Your Ref.

LONDON, S.W.1

BOARD OF TRADE,

MILLBANK.

h June, 1947.

Dear Mr. Garran,

In your letter of the 28th May to Mr. Trafford Smith you asked for the Board of Trade's views on the question of further representations to the Arab States about the boycott of Palestine Jewish goods.

We agree with your view that in the light of telegrams 148. 348, 116 and 198 from Damascus, Beirut, Cairo and Jedda respectively, there is nothing to be gained by the use of the I.T.O. arguments in any further representations that may be made.

With regard to the suggestion made in paragraph 3 of telegram 116, i.e. that representations should be made to the Egyptian Government on the basis of existing Trade Agreements between Egypt and Palestine, this possibility was considered in November last and the Board's views on the matter were given in my letter of the 11th November to Mr. Higham (Colonial Office) copy of which was sent to Mr. Beeley. Our view at that date still stands. i.e. we feel that representations to the Egyptian Government against the boycott on the basis of the "Modus Vivendi" of 1930 might well elicit nothing from the Egyptians except the denunciation of the Agreement itself, a contingency which we are anxious to avoid, particularly since in Egypt after July 15th purchases for sterling will not enjoy any advantages over purchases for other currencies.

The Egyptian-Palestine Trade Agreement of 1944 includes no general m.f.n. clause for import restrictions and only provides a basis for representations against the boycott of Palestine Jewish

P. Garran, Esq., Foreign Office, S.W. 1.

THE PUBLIC RECORD

RECEIVED IN C.B 26 JUN 1947 SENT TO DEP. 27 JUN 1947



goods passing in transit through Egypt. The Agreement is, however, limited to Egypt and Palestine and accordingly our objections to representations on the basis of the Modus Vivendi do not apply. It seems to be mainly for the Colonial Office to decide whether there is a risk of demunciation of the agreement by Egypt if the Palestine Government make representations on the basis of it, and if so whether they wish to take that risk. There are presumably advantages to Palestine-Arabs trade under the agreement.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Mr. Trafford Smith at the Colonial Office.

Yours sincerely,

March

51863

(Action completed.)

Next Paper.

5-969

32003 F.O.P.

Cypher/OTP.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE DISTRIBUTION.

## FROM GENEVA (UNITED KINGDOM DELEGATION)

#### TO FOREIGN OFFICE

No.923.

D. 4.50 p.m. 7th July, 1947.

7th July, 1947.

R. 6.05 p.m. 7th July, 1947.

Repeated to Beirut, Damascus.

Cairo, New York (U.K. Delegation)

#### IMPORTANT.

Please pass to posts named.

NEUTRAL

SECRET

My telegram 756: Arab League boycott.

Article 23 came up again on 3rd July when Commission A. resumed consideration of the report of the sub-Committee which had dealt with articles 15 to 23 and 37.

- 2. Lebanese representative (Mikaoui) reverted to decision of Arab League and referred to suggestions by Netherlands and Czech delegates on previous occasion that article did not apply to Arab League boycott (on grounds respectively that article does not refer to boycotts on grounds of origin or [sic ? of] goods and that Palestine is not a member of the United Nations). He did not however press for formal confirmation that the article and its conditions did not apply in case of boycott in question and simply reserved his position in relation to the article. to the article.
- the Czechoslovak argument would certainly not hold water and that that of the Netherlands was only doubtfully valid, vide paragraph 7(C) of our telegram under reference. Colban the Chairman was prepared to advance the latter argument and give it as his own opinion that Article 23 was not applicable but we felt that this would not alone satisfy the Lebanese/Syrians and that they would probably force Colban to try and get the Commission as such to endorse his view at least sub silentic. We therefore endorse his view at least sub silentio. We therefore indicated privately to Colban that his proposed course of action would raise difficulties for us.
- 4. At the last moment the United States representative (Ryder) appeared ready to propose the omission of article altogether but this we felt would almost certainly provoke debate with doubtful issue and would in any case look very weak and suggest that we had

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put the United States up to do what we were reluctant to do ourselves.

- 5. In reply to Mikaoui Colban said that in his opinion neither Commission A. nor the Preparatory Committee as such was in a position to give an authentic interpretation of the article that would satisfy the Lebanese delegate. He hoped that by the time the charter entered into force the political difficulties which gave rise to the Lebanese reservation would be resolved so that the reservation could be dropped. Mikaoui replied that he too hoped that a fair solution of the problem giving rise to his reservation would soon be found.
  - 6. See my immediately following telegram.

[Repeated to Beirut, Damascus, Cairo and United Kingdom Delegation New York]



E 5969

PALESTINE

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(Action completed.)

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Next Paper.

E 6052

Wat Regul Rogertt.

Rful Genera El 423 (67968/347/31) Aport parter or subject of article 23

to softling the and Baycott problem.

(Minutes.)

## San also E 5968.

It seems to me that the perspective is wrong in paragraph 3 within. I do not think we have ever suggested that our attitude to Article 23 should be determined by its probable effect on the Arab This Article was presumably put into the draft Charter for reasons quite unconnected with the Arab boycott on Zionist goods, the Arab objection to it only coming to light at a later stage. the three questions asked in this paragraph, the most important is therefore (a), and I suggest it should be answered without much reference to the special circumstances of the Arab boycott. 3(b) would then become largely irrelevant.

It seems clear that the answer to 3(c) is "Yes". Thus, even supposing that we wish to deal with Article 23 exclusively with reference to the Arab boycott, there would be no need to amend the Article in order to ensure its applicability. If, on the other hand, it is possible to reword the Article in such a way that its general value is unimpaired, while at the same time the Arab objection to it is removed, this possibility is perhaps worth con-It is open, however, to the objection sidering. that it might be interpreted as a recognition of the legitimacy of this particular boycott, and that we might therefore find it difficult to make any further representations to the Arab States on this It would therefore be necessary to consubject. sult the Colonial Office and the Government Palestine before suggestions with this object could be put forward or supported by the British Delegation at Geneva.

Our intention, before these telegrams Paragraph 7. arrived, was to adopt the philosophy of Mr. Micawber state and avoid any decision on this question at Geneva,

#13eely 9th July, 1947.

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Now som the attached drafts, Japanel & E.A. Dagt.

My appeared, at the inter-dependental from 18. 18 Kins.

meeting referred to in the drafts, that Comps. to

in Gundan

no body I is particularly interested in 18. Lintott, B.O.T. Article 23 for any neson other then its busing on the Anat boyce R. This being n, 9 entirely agree with the opinion of E.R. Dept. that we should by to occure its deletion a amendment.

HBeeley 17)

My leken to harton.

Det) Sin G. Clauson, M. Helmore, U.K. Del., Geneva. M. Come, E.R. Dept. 1239uly

Dft) the Kartery U.K. Del, Peneva from Mr. Barnett. V 219mly.

Mr. Cameto. 1. 9 cant find Mr. Gaman for the moment but will ask him about the flurious from E 5969 in the morning. 2. This is the first line I have sun the file since Mr. from engine about his droft letter a Mr. Martin in E 5382. You will see that it

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| 1 2 3 4 5 6 | Reference: - ( ) 371 52863

has not gone. The neson is that then is no roply yet, so far as I can see, from Mr. Parker. HBeely 237 hu. Beelg. Thank you. We more have a carbon copy which is

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J.T.O. and the Arch Dog est. 16

The Draft Charlie d' presul contains an Outide (23) publishing brychts. The hebrum, m belief of the Arch League, his want report traccept this when underted that if it stands on it is they will it frie 1-7.0. The U.K. Delegition, Penese, have asked for me news on whether in the Ut the article stand, have its deleted on amend it. We strongly larner amendment -I the do Peneva. The Coloniel office are, howon, bring tresme. a meeting was held with them a it D.T. recently at which it was readed to pregan a paper firm in pell. The yaper is uns rendry a I Attach a letter to fin f. (thing we write the paper) Clause melsing 'I'. The p. are Eastern I and the little w wouldy to dynas by . 17: bright. But to away Julier Ilay and some he is entirely new to 1. T.O. it des been suggested that you might wish li sign. brud jan be prepared to so? M. Mahylo. I han signed -

or lei dellet leni - after-

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Minutes.

In P.P. U.K. Wel, Genera to M'Grown #7 Tuly

HB.29/8

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Registry
No. E 5969/347/31.

Top Secret. Secret. Confidential. Restricted. Open.

Draft.

FOREIGN OFFICE. S.W.1.
July, 1947.

## Article 23 of the Draft I.T.O. Charter and the Arab League Boycott.

The United Kingdom Delegation at Geneva have asked for guidance as to whether they should seek to delete, or suitably amend, Article 23 (the Boycott Article) of the I.T.O. Charter in view of the conflict between this and the Arab League boycott against Jewish goods. Representatives of the Foreign Office, Colonial Office and Board of Trade have discussed the matter without reaching agreement. Article 23, at present, states that: "No member shall encourage, support or participate in boycotts or other campaigns which are designed to discourage, directly or indirectly, the consumption within its territory of products of any specific Member country or countries on grounds of origin, or the sale of products for consumption within other Member countries on grounds of destination."

It has been suggested at Geneva that the Arab boycott does not come within the scope of this Article, but the arguments advanced there are unconvincing and the United Kingdom Delegation feel that they are invalid. The opinion of the departmental representatives who met here was unamimously that the United Kingdom (or the Power responsible for Palestine) would be bound under the Article, as it now stands, to challenge the Arab boycott and could not evade doing so by means of any legalistic

interpretation/..

Delegate at Geneva has entered a reservation in relation to the Article, which indicates that he also takes the view that the Article would apply to the Arab boycott.

3. From other sources it seems clear that

- the Arab states will stand together on this point and we have been told that the Arab League countries will certain refuse to sign the Charter, when the time comes, if it conflicts with their ideas about their boycott.
- 4. There are four possible courses of action open to us:
- (a) To leave matters as they stand, i.e. to accept Article 23 with its present wording and with the Lebanese reservation;
- (b) To seek, while the Preparatory

  Committee is still in session, to delete the Article;
- (c) to seek to amend it, while the Preparatory Committee is in Session, in such a way that it does not apply to "political boycotts";
- (d) To wait until the World Conference and then, if the situation has not changed, to act as in (b) or (c) above.
- 5. The arguments in favour of the first course are:
- (i) That we should avoid having to climb down on an issue of principle for reasons of expediency.
- (ii) That the Arab League countries may give way at the World Comference and agree to lift the boycott, or may join I.T.O. and lift the boycott subsequently when challenged under Article 23.

OTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

(111)/...

- (iii) That circumstances may change,
  e.g. when the Palestine case has been heard by
  the United Nations, the Arabs may not then
  feel so strongly about continuing the boycott.
- (iv) That we should avoid repercussions in our relations with the Jews.
- (v) That if we wish to make further representations against the boycott on other grounds, or of Palestine wishes to make representations under existing agreements with Egypt and Syria, the likelihood of success would be greatly reduced by a retreat at Geneva or the World Conference.
- 6. Against this course it may be argued:
- (a) That the Arab League States are unlikely to climb down and will prefer to stay out of I.T.O., or leave I.T.O. if challenged about the boycott.
- (b) That nothing is likely to happen in the near future, e.g. in the United Nations Assembly, to change Arab feelings.

Consequently (c) that it is fairly certain, if Article 23 remains, that the Arab countries will be outside I.T.O. and

- (d) that we shall lose the valuable means that I.T.O. would afford of keeping a check on the Arab States in matters of international trade.
- (e) That there might also be a tendency, if the U.S.S.R. remains outside I.T.O., for other non-members to seek or accept closer commercial relations with her. In the Middle East any such tendency would have serious political implications.

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A S 6 Reference: F 371 3283

(f)/...

(f) Above all, that the Article as it now stands is unlikely to be of much use as a weapon against the Arab boycott. If the Article is left as it is, the Arab States join I.T.O., and the United Kingdom as the Power responsible for Palestine is thus obliged to challenge them on the subject of the boycott, the result would be, either (i) that the Arabs would ignore the challenge and it would be decided not to invoke Article 35 (the sanctions article); or (ii) that Article 35 would be invoked, but members would be devided on the political issues and no clearcut decision could be reached by the Organization, which would lower the prestige of both the Organization and the Charter; or (111) that sanctions would be imposed, which might force the Arabs out of I.T.O., and in any case Would do great harm to our relations with them. On balance it would seem undesirable to 7. leave Article 23 as it is. The question therefore arises whether we should try to have it deleted, or whether an amendment would be preferable. The former may be held to constitute too great a retreat on our part and it is unlikely that it would be accepted by other Delegations at Geneva. There is therefore, much to be said for a compromise, and our Delegation have suggested a re-draft of the Article on the following lines:

"No member shall encourage, support, or participate in, campaigns designed for economic motives to discourage or reduce the consumption within its territory of the products or of a particular class

of/...

OFFICE,

of products of a member country".

This would leave it open for the Arab
boycott to continue (but, as pointed out above,
the Article in its present form would in any
case be unlikely to put a stop to this
boycott). It would prohibit boycotts from
economic motives (with which alone the I.T.O.
will be competent to deal), and might prove
acceptable to the other members.

There remains the question whether action should be taken now, or postponed until the World Conference. The main argument for postponement is that the hearing of the Palestine case by the General Assembly of the United Nations might have such results as to cause the Arab States to lift the boycott and make it unnecessary for Article 23 to be amended to all. But it cannot be said that this outcome seems at all probable. On the other hand, postponement has the disadvantages: (a) that it may be far more difficult, perhaps impossible, to amend or delete the Article at the World Conference when it has already been passed at Geneva. It will not be easy to amend the article even in the smaller circle of the Preparatory Committee, but at Geneva we have to deal only with the Lebanon; (b) that if we retreat before the Arabs under the spotlight of a World Conference, their triumph will be greater and the adverse repercussions elsewhere will be magnified. 9. On the whole therefore it seems undesirable to postpone the issue, and it is therefore suggested that the United Kingdom Delegation to the Preparatory Committee be

instructed/...

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instructed to try to secure an amendment to
Article 23 on the lines suggested in paragraph
7 above.

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Article 23 of the Draft I.T.O. Charter and

the Arab League Boycott.

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It has been suggested at Geneva that the Arab bo, cott does not come within the scope of this Article, but the arguments advanced there are unconvincing and the U.M. Delegation feels that they are invalid. The opinion of the departmental representatives who met here was unanimously that the U.M. or the fower responsible for Palestine would be bound under the Article, as it now stands, to challenge the Arab foycott and could not evade doing so by means/

means of any legalistic interpretation.

Meanwhile the Lebanese Delegate at Geneva has entered a reservation in relation to the Article, findicately that he interprets it in the same sense attil want affly to the lay log cot,

- 3. From other sources it seems clear that the Arab States will stand together on this point and we have been told that the Arab League countries will certainly refuse to sign the Charter, when the time comes, if it conflicts with their ideas about the Jewish boycott.
- 4. There are four possible courses of action to us:
- (a) To leave matters as they stand, i.e. to accept Article 23 with its present wording and with the Lebanese reservation;
- (b) To seek, while the Preparatory
  Committee is still in session, to delete the
  Article;
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- 5. The arguments in favour of the first course are:
- (i) That we should avoid having to climb down on an issue of principle for reasons of expediency.
- (ii) That the Arab League countries may give way at the World Conference and agree to lift the boycott, or may join I.T.O. and lift the boycott subsequently when challenged under Article 23.

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- (iii) That circumstances may change,
  e.g. when the Palestine case has been heard by
  the United Nations, and the Arabs may not then
  feel so strongly about continuing the boycott.
- (iv) That we should avoid repercussions in our relations with the Jews.
- (v) That if we wish to make further representations against the boycott on other grounds, or if Palestine wishes to make representations under existing agreements with Egypt and Syria, the likelihood of success would be greatly reduced by a retreat at Geneva or the World Conference.
  - 6. Against this course it may be argued:
- (a) That the Arab League States are unlikely to climb down and will prefer to stay out of I.T.O., or leave I.T.O. if challenged about the boycott.
- (b) That nothing is likely to happen in the near future, e.g. in the United Nations Assembly, to change Arab feelings.

Consequently (c) that it is fairly certain, if Article 25 remains, that the Arab countries will be outside I.T.O. and

- (d) that we shall lose the valuable means that I.T.O. would afford of keeping a check on the Arab States in matters of international trade.
- (e) That there might also be a tendency, if the U.S.S.R. remains outside I.T.O., for other non-members to seek or accept closer commercial relations with her. In the Middle East any such tendency would have serious political implications.

(f)/

undesirable to leave Article 25 as it is. The question therefore arises whether we should try to have it deleted, or whether an amendment would be preferable. The former may be held to constitute too great a retreat on our part and it is unlikely that it would be accepted by other Pelegations at Geneva. There is therefore much to be said for a compromise, and our Delegation have suggested a re-draft of the Article on the following lines:

"No member shall encourage, support, or participate in campaigns designed for economic motives to discourage or reduce the consumption within its territory of the products or of a particular class

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

of/

This would leave it open for the Arab boycott to continue (but, as pointed out above, the Article in its present form would in any case be unlikely to put a stop to this boycott). It would prohibit boycotts from economic motives (with which alone the I.T.O. will be competent to deal), and might prove acceptable to the other members.

8. There remains the question whether action should be taken now, or postponed until the World Conference. The main argument for postponement is that the hearing of the Palestine case by the General Assembly of the United Nations might have such results as to cause the Arab States to lift the boycott and make it unnecessary for Article 23 to be amended at all. But it cannot be said that this outcome sums at all probable. On the other hand, postponement has the disadvantages: (a) that it may be far more difficult, perhaps impossible, to amend or delete the Article at the World Conference when it has already been passed at Geneva. It will not be easy to amend the article even in the smaller circle of the Preparatory Committee, but at Geneva we have to deal only with the Lebanon; which is the most reasonable of the Arab States

- (b) Chat if we retreat before the Arabs under the spotlight of a World Conference, their triumph will be greater and the adverse repercussions elsewhere will be magnified.
- 9. On the whole therefore it seems undesirable to postpone the issue, and it is therefore suggested that the U.K. Delegation to the Preparatory Committee be instructed to/

on the lines of the draft given in paragraph above.

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#### INTERNATIONAL TRADE DISTRIBUTION

#### FROM GENEVA TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(United Kingdom Delegation)

No. 924.

D: 5.18 p.m. 7th July, 1947.

7th July, 1947.

R: 6.55 p.m. 7th July, 1947.

Repeated to: Beirut,

Damascus, Cairo.

U.K.Delegation New York.

@39 300 093

E 5969

#### LAPORTANT

Please pass to posts named.

#### MEUTRAL

#### SECRET

My immediately preceding telegram.

The gist of Ryder's suggestion is discussed in paragraph 7 (b) of our telegram No. 756. The chief argument against deleting Article 23 seems to us to be that it would appear like capitulation before what amounts to demand by Lebanon-Syria for recognition by the Preparatory Committee of the legitimacy of the Arab League boycott. There is no getting away from the fact that this boycott is:

- (a) injurious to United Kingdom interests as the mandatory power in Palestine,
- (b) plainly contrary to the spirit of the Charter.
- 2. On the other hand it can be said that the practical use of Article 23 as it now stands is not likely to be very great. Beyootts are nearly always based on political motives and as such are essentially outside the scope of T.T.O. and will not normally be removable by T.T.O. machinery. Thus reference to Article 23 does not seem to us likely to cause a member to desist from a beycott which derives from political considerations. In practice the results of invoking the article would be either (a) negative because (1) the member imposing the beycott ignored the article and it was decided not to have recourse to Article 35, or (11) because on recourse to Article 35 it was found that sympathies of members were more or less evenly divided on the political issues involved and no clear-cut decision

/could



A TA

could be reached by the organisation, which would lower the prestige both of the organisation and of the charter, or (b) sanctions against the offending member under Article 35 which might lead in extreme cases to (c) the withdrawal of the member from the organisation. It seems to us undesirable that an issue of an essentially political character should result in (b) or (c) especially as machinery exists in other organs of the United Nations for resolving political differences such as may give rise to boycotts.

- 3. What we need to know here is whether (a) importance is attached to a boycott article appearing in the charter more or less in its present form, (b) whether it is hoped that such an article could be invoked against the Arab League boycott. If so, (c) does the present wording apply or not apply to the sort of action in which the Arab League is indulging?
- 4. If no importance is attached to having the article then it might be possible even now to get it excised but this we should have thought would be regarded as a retreat on our part by the Arab League. If the article is to remain and to be invocable against the Arab League, it might be thought necessary, to put the matter beyond doubt, to make certain variations in the wording, a course which might be difficult and would certainly harden the attitude of Lebanon-Syria and later other Arab League countries against the charter and probably lead to their non-acceptance of it.
- 5. If, on the other hand, some boycott article is desired and, at the same time, it is desired to do everything possible to induce the Lebanese-Syrians to withdraw their reservation, the question is one of altering the article so as to make it clear that it does not apply to their present boycott. This could be done we think by a redraft of the article on the following lines:-

"No member shall encourage, support or participate in campaigns designed for economic motives to discourage or reduce the consumption within its territory of the products or of a particular class of products of a member-country".

or alternatively it might be done by the insertion of the word "national" before "origin" in the existing text.

of the article or its re-drafting so as not to apply to the Arab League boycott is liable to be looked on as a rather weak position on our part, the retention of some sort of

/anti-boycott

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A S 6 Reference: C 371 SE863

anti-boycott article would be better then nothing.

- 7. We must therefore ask for answers to the questions in paragraph 3 and for instructions whether
  - (1) We should let the matter rest as it is
  - (11) We should try to secure the deletion of the article
  - (111) We should try to secure an amendment as in paragraph 5 above.

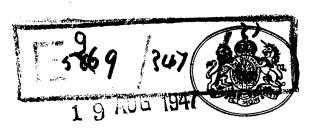
[Repeated to Beirut, Damaseus, Cairo and U.K.Delegation New York,]

J. J.

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INDEXED

Gener til. 92426 E 5969/347/3

# UNITED KINGDOM DELEGATION TO PREPARATORY COMMITTEE

TTTEE (

PALAIS DES NATIONS, GENEVA. 7th July, 1947

My Draw Colin,

ARAB LEAGUE BOYCOTT

You will by now have had our latest telegrams on this subject. In my personal opinion, Article 23 in its present form is quite useless for dealing with the Arab League Boycott because :-

a) There is considerable uncertainty whether it applies to the Arab League Boycott on the grounds that the latter is directed against the products of a group, i.e. the Zionists. The present wording of Article 23 talks of "on grounds of origin" which apparently in ordinary commercial agreement incorporation means "on grounds of national origin" though no doubt the point is arguable.

b) If the United Kingdom were now to propose that Article 23 should be amended in such a way as to ensure beyond all doubt that it did apply to the Arab League Boycott, it would cause a major row here and would harden the opposition of Lebanon-Syria and the Arab League countries to I.T.O. They would not join the Organisation and therefore I.T.O. machinery would not be available to

c) If the present position continues, i.e. Article 23 stands part of the Chapter but Lebanon-Syria maintain their resolution, and if, after the World Conference the Arab League countries by some chance accept the obligations of the Charter although Article 23 stands part of it, recourse to it by the United Kingdom to secure removal of the Arab League Boycott would in my opinion only bring about the results described in para. 2 of our second telegram and would not therefore help Palestine.

2. In fact, I am sure that rigid insistence of Article 23 in its present form will not help Palestine over the Arab League Boycott or any other country affected by some boycott imposed in the future for political motives. If in answering the questions in paragraph 3 of our second telegram, the Colonial Office wish to insist on the (readings) of the Article you might point these arguments out to them and say further that:-

C. T. Crowe, Esq.,
Economic Relations Department,
Foreign Office.

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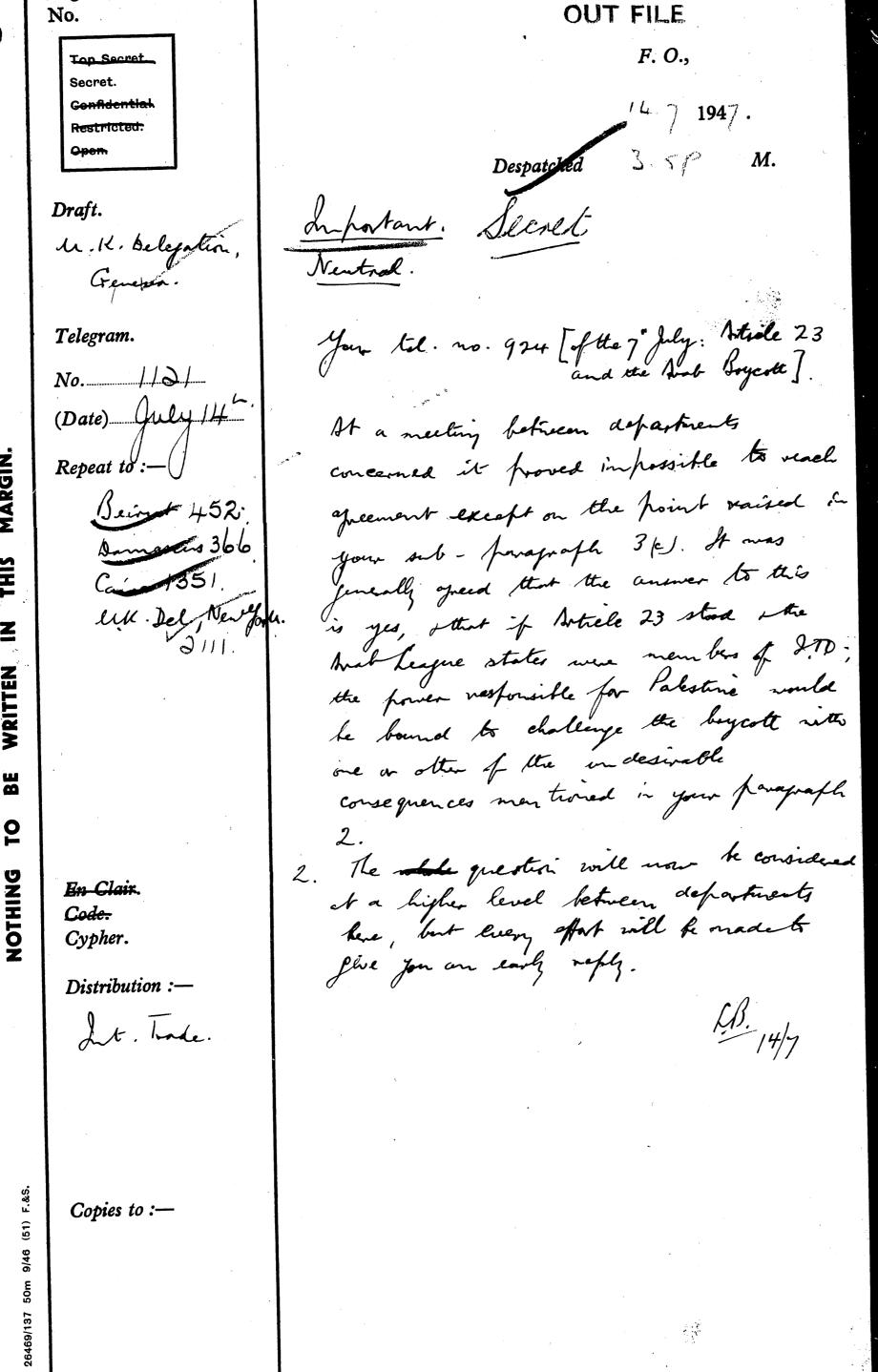
(a)



- it would be much more use to Palestine if the Arab League countries accepted the obligations of the I.T.O. Charter even if the latter did not include the present Article 23, / than if they remain outside I.T.O. altogether.
- b) Provided the Charter is in such a form that the Arab League countries have accepted their obligations. (i.e. that Article 23 is amended so that it does not outlaw boycotts imposed for esentially political motives,) recourse to the other appropriate articles of the Commercial Policy Chapter (e.g. m.f.n., freedom of transit, non discrimination, consultation and impairment) combined with a recourse to a new Article 23 on the lines suggested in paragraph 5 of our second telegram would in my opinion be something effective to safeguard the interests of Palestine whereas insistence on the present Article 23 will only have the result that I.T.O. machinery is not available at all for this purpose.

Your ever

51863



Registry

Secret

Cypher/OTP

#### INTERNATIONAL TRADE DISTRIBUTION.

#### FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO GENEVA.

(To United Kingdom Delegation)

#### No. 1121

14th July 1947.

D. 3.5 p.m. 14th July 1947.

Repeated to Beirut No. 452

Damascus No. 366 Cairo No. 1351

United Kingdom Delegation New York No. 2111.

v v v

#### IMPORTANT.

SECRET

#### NEUTRAL.

Your telegram No. 924 [of the 7th July: 23 and the Arab Boycott]. Article

At a meeting between departments concerned it proved impossible to reach agreement except on the point raised in your sub-paragraph 3(c). It was generally agreed that the answer to this is yes, and that if Article 23 stood and the Arab League states were members of I.T.O., the power responsible for Palestine would be bound to challenge the boycott with one or other of the undesirable consequences mentioned in your paragraph 2.

The question will now be considered at a higher level between departments here, but every effort will be made to give you an early reply. ្តឲ្

FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.

21st July, 1947.

My dear Marten,

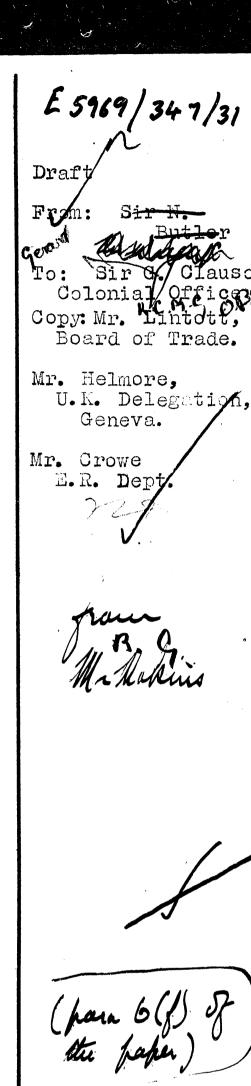
with reference to our telegram No. 1121 of the 14th July, a letter is now going out from Michael Wright to Clauson at the Colonial Office, with copies to Lintott (Board of Trade) and Helmore, enclosing a paper prepared in this Department, setsing out the two divergent view points on the question of the Arab boycott and enquirant whether there shall be a meeting at that level or whether the matter had better go up to Ministers.

we are trying to get a rapid decision on the instructions to be sent to you, and as it is hoped to have a final draft of the Charter ready by the middle of next month, could you let us know what date would be the deadline for action at your end, if it is decided to instruct you to seek an amendment of Article 23.

(L. Barnett)

F.W. Marten, Esq., M.C., U.K. Delegation, Geneva.

969 347 31



#### OUT FILL

al 1274<sub>30</sub>

As you know, a meeting was held recently between representatives of the Colonial Office, Board of Trade and Foreign Office to see if, agreement could be reached on the instructions to be sent to the U.K. Delegation at Geneva in reply to their telegram No. 924 of the 7th July, on the attitude which they should adopt towards Article 23 of the Draft Charter, with particular reference to the Arab boycott of Zionist goods.

2. No agreement was reached at this meeting as the Colonial Office representatives deprecated any attempt to amend or delete the Article, while our attitude was that it would be highly undesirable to leave the Article as it is.

5. Since then we have given further thought to the question and I enclose a paper setting out our view of the matter. We for our part are thoroughly convinced that the Article in its present form would, in practice, be ineffective in stopping the Arab boycott and that it would at the same time have most undesirable consequences (paragraph 6 (f) of the paper).

and those of Lintott to whom I am copying this.

If you agree we can send instructions to

Geneva immediately. If not, shall we have a meeting or do you wish to go to Ministers?

21/5

ence: FO 371 32863

#### OUT FILE .

( 5969 347/31)

22nd U.J. 1947.

As you know, a meeting was held recently between representatives of the Golonial Offic. . Board of Trade and Foreign Office to see if sgreenent could be reached on the instructionate to be sent to the United Kingdom Delegation at Geneva in reply to their telegram No. 98% of the 7th July, on the attitude which they should adopt towards Article 23 of the Draft Charter, with particular reference to the Arab beyont of Gioriat 2003.

- 2. To agreement was reached at this mosting as the Colonial Office representatives deprocated any strengt to amond or delate the Article, while our attitude was that it would a higher undesirable to leave the Article as it is.
- to the question and I encl so a paper setting out our view of the atter? We for our part are thoroughly convinced that the article in Ita present form would, in practice, so ineffective in stopping the area boycott (paragraph 6 (f) of the paper and that it would at the same time have cont underlyable consequences (paragraph 6 (c) 4
  - 4. I should be most grateful for your views

ir Gerard Clauson, K.C.W.G., C.S. ... Colonial Office.

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and those of lintott to whom I am copying this.
If you agree we can send instructions to denova
immediately. If not, shall we have a secting
or do you wish the matter to be referred to

(R. C. Makine)

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Cypher/OTP

#### INTERNATIONAL TRADE DISTRIBUTION

#### FROM GENEVA TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(From U.K. Delegation)

No. 949.

D. 12. 8. p.m. 9th July 1947.

9th July 1947.

R. 1.15. p.m. 9th July 1947.

E 6052

Repeated to Beirut,
Damascus,
Cairo,
U.K. Delegation New York.

IMPORTANT

Please pass to posts named.

Neutral

Confidential.

My telegrams Nos. 923 and 924.

Moubrak spoke to Helmore today on his return from his visit to London and before returning to Beirut to report to his Government. The principal subject of conversation was article 23 and the Arab League boycott.

- 2. Moubrak said that while he was in London the Foreign Office has represented to him the undesirability of taking too fiery a line over Article 23. He wanted Helmore to know however that while he himself was anxious not to inflame the issue he felt absolutely convinced that when it came to the world conference the ministers from Arab League countries would not be so moderate and would certainly refuse to sign the Charter if it conflicted with their ideas about the boycott and there was nothing which could be done by way of persuasion to change this attitude.
- 3. Helmore enquired whether Moubrak felt that the Preparatory Committee had been wise in simply accepting the Lebanese reservation at the present stage



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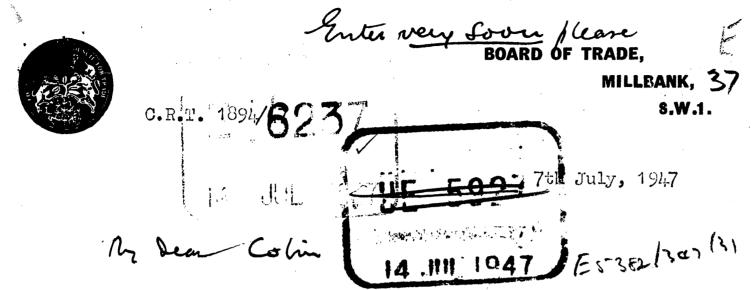
1 2 3 4 5 6 Reference: FO 371 5 863

and

and leaving the matter over for the world conference in the hepe that a solution of the Palestinian problem would by them have made the matter of mo interest to the Arab League. Moubrak replied that in his view this was certainly so. All he was concerned to do was to point out that if the matter had not been settled by the removal of the Palestinian problem and therefore of the beyont there was no choice between the Arab League countries refusing to sign the Charter on the one hand and on the other, either the deletion of Article 23 or its redrafting in a form which made it clear that the Arab League boycott was not covered.

4. In spite of this conversation we should still be glad to have the instructions sought for in the last paragraph of our telegram No. 924.

[Repeated to Beirut, Damascus, Cairo and U.K. Delegation New York.]



I have seen your letter to Parker of 1st July enclosing a copy of the minute of your meeting with Moubarak and of the draft letter you propose to send to Marten. Since Moubarak did mention the boycott when he was here, I think it might be useful if you were to send with your letter and note the attached short note of what Moubarak said here. This I think entails a slight modification of sentence No. 2 of Paragraph 2 of your letter to Marten, which might now read as follows:-

"During his interview with the Board of Trade, a short minute of which is enclosed, the boycott question arose, and it was arranged that Moubaral should come to see Beeley and me."

I am sending a copy of this letter to Clauson.

- and Kennette Ne Grigor

O.T. Orowe Esq., Foreign Office, London, S.W.1.

PUBL I C RECORD OFFICE, 1003 1003

Moussa Bey Moubarak called at the Board of Trade on Friday, June 27th, to see Mr. McGregor and Mrs. Marsh. Mr. Marpham, former Commercial Secretary at Beirut, was also present. There was a very general discussion on trade between the United Kingdom and Lebanon, and Moubarak gave his views on the Arab League case for regional preferences, which he said (incorrectly) he had discussed with Mr. Molnes in Geneva. He gave these views again at a later talk in the morning in the Foreign Office, and they are fully reported in the Foreign Office minute of the second talk.

The question of the boycott also arose, when Houbarak said that in his view it was not in general affecting Palestinian trade at all adversely. He said that, speaking as an official, the only country who suffered from the boycott was the Lebanon, which wished to supply Palestine, and was not permitted to do so under the boycott arrangements. The countries who need supplies from Palestine in fact continue to receive them through sauggling and other methods. Houbarak added, somewhat indiscrettly, that the Lebanon is in a very difficult position, vis-a-vis the Arab League, as a small Christian among many larger Moslem countries, and it would be impolitic for them to abide by the boycott, even though they are the main sufferers from it.

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(Action completed.) Next Paper.

6418

PALEOTINE

E 6414 18 JUL 1017 /39

Crab bayeott Has been informed by Deis' Gen of burtoms
That decision made by thigher Lopply

(monthle or May 11 has been amended in follows. Sever lest of Points.

(Minutes.)

forg 6.0. W is no clear that the Tragio an prohibiting transit from as well M.E. Systemiel 20/7 es to Palestine. H.B. 19/ E.A. Dyv. 29.

P. Q. in E 5585 that we are obliged to make some representations to the tragi fors. about this tramit embargo. love by telegram to Bagdas, stubject to any obs MESeur. ~ E.R. Depr. may have.

Admittally six weeks how more passed since the Hour of form mons were fassend that tohen without dit any He have to consider,

32003 F.O.P.

howers

however, the timing of our action in order that it shall be as afficulous as possible. 9 think the telegram 15 Baydad should be held up a little longer for the following resons: 11) Ih Ministry of Food are trying to get Ingi barley into Palestine by the sutter juge of obtaining export briences for Port Said and transhipping it there. They do not wont anything donn / which might anahen hagi suspicions. (ii) It appears from other papers (at present with E.A. Dept.) that Ministers may wish us to raise the boysett question once mon with all the Arch States. If this is in fact inlunded, it would In unwess to court defeat in a preliminary skirmish in Bagdad. M.E.S. 9 afre BAG 12/8. WM 11/8 HBeeley %

E. R. Vagt. Lee minute. C.S. 15/8

The Cabinet directive foreshadowed in (ii) above has now been interpreted brueau that it is not necessary to raise the boycott question again with all the Arab Slates. To that extent, therefore, there is less reason to delay the rending of instructions to Baylidad. But I consider that reason (i) is enough by itself, especially as the Parliam entary Under Levelary only committed himself to Taking stops "as quickly as we can:

L. Samete

Anning mate

MANAGEMENTALIA

Fronthuse unimites it seems that all depts are agreed that are here had not make representations to the bragi Grout. For the present (see reasons in M Bealer's unimite)

Mr Beeley

2.5 Beins Sept. 2

Is reson (i) in my presies minules
while operation?

Historia 18/4

Nothing to be Written in this Margin.

For the time being, yes: it is not certain how long this will continue since the ability of HMO, the whether through agents or by any other means, to purchase further large quantities or barley is uncertain, But it is hoped to get 2 or 3 more shipments out and as long as we are engaged in purchasing I rag harley we do not want to make the hagis suspect to eventual destination.

omCronch

E-Depr.

In any representations to day we should protatly want to point out how the boy with in particular cuts of Palestine's obvious source of bailey. To do this now, however, might well provoke to dragin to put more restrictions on the topos of bailey already bouges, and no 2, talestine were real damage, which our repres. to drag one mikely to undo.

I magen action is be suspended for a futter short period.

E 6414

18 JUL 1947

DEPONDICATION

Cypher/OTP

DEPARTMENTAL NO. 2.

#### FROM BAGDAD TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Mr. Busk
No. 667.

D. 2.46 p.m. July 16th, 1947. R. 8.05 p.m. July 16th, 1947.

C1-755/247/11

July 16th, 1947.

JJJ

#### CONFIDENTIAL

My telegram No. 575.

Palestinian boycott.

I have been informed by the Director-General of Customs that decision made by the higher Supply Committee on May 11th has, at a meeting held on July 11th been amended as follows:-

- (a) Any goods which arrived in Iraq via Palestine before May 11th will now be released.
- (b) Any goods shipped from their country of origin prior to May 11th and consigned via Palestine will be released on arrival.
- (c) With effect from September 4th [sic] no transit whatsoever through Iraq to Palestine will be permitted nor will entry of goods to Iraq which have passed through Palestine in transit.
  - 2. Provisions of paragraph (c) except for goods covered by provisions of paragraphs (a) and (b) are already in effect.



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Dover House,
Whitehall,
S.W.1.

July, 1947.

79238/8/47

10 111 1947

Dear Garran,

Will you please refer to previous correspondence about Article 23 of the I.T.O. Charter and the boycott of Jewish goods.

We have now received from the High Commissioner for Palestine a letter from the Jewish Agency, enclosing a memorandum on this subject. The Jewish Agency have requested that it be transmitted to the International Trade Conference at Geneva. I am not at all clear whether this is a proper or possible procedure to adopt. If the Foreign Office agree, we would propose to send the communications in question to the U.K. Delegation at Geneva (through the Colonial Office representative, Colonel Darby) and ask them to ascertain through the United Nations Secretariat attached to the Conference what is the correct procedure to pursue.

Yours sincerely,

(T.W. Davies)

I.P. Garran, Esq., Foreign Office.

PUBL I C RECORD OFFICE,

Pref

No. E 64-18/347/31

Top Secret. Confidential. Restricted.

Draft. Later W

JAN. T.W. Davis

OUT FILE

7 hang.

Dear Davies, May 9 refer you to your letter 15 favors no. 79238/8/47 of the 17th July, concerning a memorandum by the Jewish Agency on the subject of the Arab

We agree that, in view of the Jewish Ageney's regust for the transmission of their mornindum B the Proposeting bensmittes in genera, you should send it to the V.K Delysteen and ask them the Suntariat on the

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proudum to h followed

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Yours smeerely

(Sad.) H. Beeley.

OTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

rence:

THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, LONDON

51863

FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.

7th August, 1947.

(E.6418/347/31)

Dear Davies,

May I refer you to your letter to Garran No. 79238/8/47 of the 17th July, concerning a memorandum by the Jewish Agency on the subject of the Arab boycott.

We agree that, in view of the Jewish Agency's request for the transmission of their memorandum to the Preparatory Committee in Geneva, you should send it to the United Kingdom Delegation and ask them to consult the Secretariat on the procedure to be followed.

. Yours sincerely

(Sqd.)(H. Beeley)

T.W.Davies, Esq., Colonial Office.

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A S 6 Reference: F 371 51863

Cypher/OTP

DEPARTMENTAL No.

FROM BAGDAD TO FOREIGN OFFICE

AUG

Mr. Busk No. 710 Sist July, 1947

D. 10.05 a.m. 1st August, 1947 R. 1.45 p.m. 1st August, 1947

888888

#### CONFIDENTIAL.

My telegram No. 667. E 6414 347 31

Palestine beyestt.

Provision of paragraph (c) applies to goods consigned to Iraq by air and transhipped in Palestine en route.

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THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE,

LON DON

1947

PALESTINE

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7 AUG 1947

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References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

Tel) Senua 1376

Tel) Geneva 1388

Coal Boycott.

Replan 40 til 1121 (65-969/347/31), Atoles Fartructions are urgently needed reach final reaching of article 23 out the token Commercial A. on Friday. aug. 8.

(Minutes.)

E.R. Dejl han somt an intimin mply, and will trleggest again after D. days muting of ministers, et which it is hoped that the issue will be decided.

E. R. O. J. E.

(Action (Index completed.

Next Paper.

32003 F.O.P.

401

Cypher/OTP

#### INTERNATIONAL TRADE DISTRIBUTION

#### FROM GENEVA TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(From United Kingdom Delegation)

No: 1222 6th August, 1947.

D. 4. 40 p.m. R. 4. 50 p.m. 6th August, 1947. 6th August, 1947.

11111

MOST IMMEDIATE

NEUTRAL

CONFIDENTIAL

Reference your No. 1121 and paragraphs 37-12 of Section 1 of O.E.P. 29 (Boycotts), instructions are urgently needed since final reading of Article 23 will be taken in Commission A on Friday 8th August.





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Registry No. OUT FILE Top Secret. Secret Draft. IMMEDIATE. Confidential. UK Del. Restricted. NEUTRAL. Geneva You tel. 1222. Telegram.Paper is being taken MARGIN. (Date) aug 6 to-morrow we will telegraph decision THIS Repeat to:-En Clair. En clair Code. Cypher. Distribution :-Let . Trade . Copies to:-

51863

Registry 51 No. Despatched 7- 4 M. Draft. UK Del Personal for Martin from Crown Telegrain. Please seg Asker 498 (repeat 498)

WRITTEN IN THIS

8月

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NOTHING

52

En Clair

#### INTERNATIONAL TRADE DISTRIBUTION

## FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO UNITED KINGDOM DELEGATION, GENEVA

No.1576

D. 9.11 p.m. 6th August, 1947

6th August, 1947

IMMEDIATE

NEUTRAL

Your telegram No.1222.

Paper is being taken tomorrow. We will telegraph decision as soon as known.

Reference:	1 2 3 4 5 6 Reference:	1 2 3 4 5 6 Reference:	51863	11	37	C		E,	E	F	E	E	
				_			Reference:						

OUTWARD TELEGRAM

FILES OUT FILE FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO UNITED KINGDOM

DELEGATION GENEVA

53

Mo.1588

Cypher/OTP

D. 9.40 p.m. 7th August, 1947

7th August, 1947

IMMEDIATE

Personal for Martin from Crowe.

Our telegram No.1376 - Arab Boycott.

Please see Askew No.498 (repeat No.498), to Geneva.

51863

E 7354 1947 PALESTINE arah Boycall. Number SE 735-4/347/31
TELEGRAM FROM Kfess conceretas taker and northy had with Holares ne Calieb 23 foke abouter. Transmit list of not prepared by Hetcher U. K. Del Genera. Dated copy of whet he handed he statues 1273 Received in Registry 11. K. Det our awaiting full and final 11, Cuy instructions Last Paper. (Minutes.) I think this has missed the his. 7/1-9 References. Jes-ju skite at Geneum tel, 1279. Que cam (Print.) only hope that the Palestine (out is difficulties will not be too serious. (How disposed of.) M. E.S. 18 2011. 18/8 N73. 15) (Action completed.) Next Paper. 32003 F.O.P. 7415

E 7354

E 55

Cypher/OTP.

DEPARTMENTAL NO.1.

### FROM GENEVA (UNITED KINGDOM DELEGATION)

TO FOREIGN OFFICE.

No. 1275.

D. 8.50 p.m. 11th August, 1947. R. 9.13 p.m. 11th August, 1947.

11th August, 1947.

MOST IMMEDIATE.

SECRET.

For Davies, Colonial Office, from Darby.

Fletcher and I had discussion with Holmes this evening about the boycott article 23 of Charter.

- 2. As you will have heard proposal in Commission last Friday to delete article was deferred for further consideration.
- 3. United Kingdom Delegation are awaiting instructions from London as to line they are to take. It seems not unlikely that matter may come up in Commission tomorrow 12th in which event we hope Delegation will be able to stall pending full and final instructions.
- 4. Fletcher had prepared a note copy of which he gave to Holmes. Following is text which is sent at Fletcher's request who is very concerned that strongest possible case shall be made for retention of article:

[Begins]

Secretary of State for the Colonies issued the following directive, which was circulated in TN(P)(47)50 of 2nd May, 1947, regarding the policy which should be followed in the negotiations at Geneva in respect of the interests of Palestine.

The principal obstacle to Palestine trade at the present time is the boycott of Palestine goods of Jewish origin by the Arab States. This boycott is entirely constrary to the spirit of the Charter. It is important that when the relevant clauses of the Charter are discussed, that the abandonment of the boycott would make it quite clear that the abandonment of the boycott would be a condition precedent to the entry of any Arab State into the International Trade Organisation.

2. The boycott is still the principal obstacle to Palestine's export trade and according to my information it has been intensified during the past few weeks. The seriousness of this to industry in Palestine may be judged by the effect on exports to Egypt, Iraq, Syria

/and

and the Lebanon. Exports of manufactured goods to these countries which in 1945 totalled over two million pounds in value have now dwindled almost to the point of extinction.

Article 25 prohibiting participation in boycotts by one member against another has been omitted from the draft text of the general agreement on tariffs and trade. If, in order to safeguard the value of the tariff concessions, it is necessary to include in this general agreement provisions of Chapter, V prescribing restrictive trade practices such as quantitative restrictions, surely it is essential to provide safeguards against the prohibition of all trade which results from an "official" boycott.

Further it has now been proposed by the United States of America that Article 23 shall be deleted from the Charter.

4. Presumably the purpose of the United States proposal is to induce the Arab States to enter the International Trade Organisation by withdrawing any obligation upon them to discontinue the boycott. Such a sacrifice of the principles of the Charter will. I submit, if it is made, be a dangerously high price which will have to be paid by the United Kingdom.

It is not, I think, surprising that this proposal has been made by the United States. By doing so they have nothing to lose and perhaps something to gain. They may, by their action, improve their relations with the Arab States and they will escape any blame on the Jewish community which will rightly fall on the mandatory power for failing to fulfil its charge.

- Palestine is perhaps not sufficiently realised at this conference. Interest in Palestine is not confined to those Jewish industrialists who are directly injured by the boycott it extends throughout the whole Jewish community and is of considerable concern to the Government in connexion with trade and employment. It is no exaggeration to say that the present negotiations will be measured in Palestine by the attitude of the conference to this question.
- article was ever included in the proposed Charter but the fact has to be faced that it was included. Provision for such an article was made in the report of the first session of the Preparatory Committee which was on sale to the public and the complete article was printed in the report of the Drafting Committee prepared in New York. Although circulation

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of the latter document was restricted, there is not the least doubt that the Jewish Agency and other interested Jewish bodies have copies of it.

Withdrawal of the article at this stage, following the publicity which it has received, will certainly create serious difficulties to the Government in Palestine which for the past two years has been accused by the Jewish community of apathy in failing to take measures to counteract the boycott.

while I think no "moderate" Jew will expect the entire boycott to end immediately merely because of an article in the Charter, he will at least expect that the mandatory power will not, at this conference, acquiesce in the maintenance of an "official" boycott against Palestine by any member of the Organisation.

Kingdom negotiators the importance of insisting on the inclusion of the boycott article, both in the Charter and in the general agreement and in no circumstances should they agree to its exclusion from the Charter until the Palestine Government has been informed and given sufficient time to consider the possible repercussions in Palestine on which I am not competent to advise. [Ends]

8. As regards Fletcher's references to the inclusion in the General Agreement of a boycott's article, he agrees now that on tactical grounds it would be unwise to propose at this late stage the inclusion of such an article.

[Copies sent to Telegraph Section Colonial Office by Special Messenger at 8 a.m. and Mr. Crowe by tube at 9 a.m.].

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# E

19.7

Colonial Office

L' Makins.

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23, July

PALESTINE

E 7415

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NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

The point raised in paragraph 3 of Sir G. Clauson's letter is an interesting one, and one which did not come up at the interdepartmental meeting on the 10th July. Article 23 in its present form would not keep China, Siam and India out of I.T.O., as it would keep the Arab States out, and to that extent the Colonial Office has a case. But insofar as Oriental countries have tended to use boycotts for commercial reasons, an Article 23 modified in the sense suggested by our Delegation at Geneva would be good enough (see paragraph 7 of the paper).

2. We agree that it would be impossible for us to move or support the deletion of Article 23, but I cannot see that there is any similar objection to our alteration of the present wording, because although the result would be that this Article would not ban political boycotts, such boycotts are in effect banned by Articles 25 and 27. For this reason, I consider that the point urged in paragraph 5 (and in the last sentence of paragraph 6) of Sir G. Clauson's letter is invalid. This really means that a boycott article is unnecessary, but that now that the Draft Charter includes one we must leave it in.

3. We do not know how long it is going to take to settle the Palestine problem. It may take a very long time indeed and meanwhile, if the Colonial Office view prevails, the Arabs would be outside I.T.O. While tacitly accepting our contention that Article 23 in its present form would in any case be useless as a weapon against the Poycott (because the Arab States would not join I.T.O.), the letter avoids discussion of the effect that their non-adherence would have on our political interests.

4. TN (P) (Special) (Charter) (47) 17 - Board of Trade memorandum on the trade negotiations at Geneva - shows the Board of Trade to be on our side in this matter.

25th June, 1947.

Since 1) he besident of the B/T's memorandem
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Estreet, 60

Downing Street,

S.W.1.

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7415

23rd July, 1947.

My has Rogers

Very many thanks for your letter No. E 5969/347/31 of the 22nd of July. We have no desire to press that this matter should be submitted to Ministers, but I think that in fact it will come up at Thursday's Cabinet on the report of the President of the Board of Trade on the proceedings at Geneva, and I have briefed my Secretary of State on the particular point to which you refer.

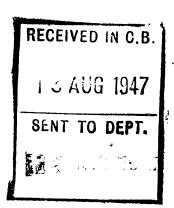
2. Subject to that point, I quite agree that we should try to reach a settlement at an official level and not trouble Ministers in the matter, but I am afraid that if there is to be an agreement, it will have to be on the basis of something other than your present paper.

3. It seems to us that the Arab boycott is a complete red herring. The real value of Article 23 is not that it prevents the Arabs from boycotting Jewish trade, but that it prevents China, Siam and possibly India from boycotting United Kingdom and Colonial trade whenever they happen to wish to blackmail us either economically, commercially or politically. Oriental countries in the recent past have shown an increasing proclivity to use boycotts quite as often for commercial as for political reasons, and our view is that it is an essential part of the International Trade Organisation Charter that it should say in the limpid language of the original

drafters

Roger Makins, Esq., C.M.G.

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drafters that boycotts stink.

- It seems to me that it would be quite impossible for us to move or support the deletion of Article 23 of the Draft Charter now that it is in, because to do so would in effect be to say that "Any Member may, with impunity, encourage, support or participate in boycotts...."

  There would be similar objection to any attenuation of the present wording. We would therefore strongly support the course described in Article 4(a) of your paper and passionately object to the course described in 4(b), and object hardly less passionately to courses 4(c) and 4(d).
- As regards your paragraph 5, we accept that 5(i) is the main argument in favour of the first course, but an argument nearly as strong which should come immediately after it is that the Article is essential in order to prevent practices which oriental countries have followed in the past, and may follow in future, which are extremely detrimental to United Kingdom and British Colonial trade.
- As regards the particular question of the Arab League, I would see no reason to compromise with them on a point of principle for the purpose of obtaining an advantage which is purely transitory. There is no reason to suppose that they are more inherently attached to boycotts for their own sake than any other oriental country they

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are simply pursuing a temporary course of action to meet a temporary situation while the Palestine problem is still open. This is bound to be settled sometime; if it is settled in a way which suits the Arabs, cadit quaestio, if it is not, they will have to make up their minds either to drop the boycott, or to live at war indefinitely with their closest neighbours. It does not seem to me likely that the practical Arab mentality will favour the second course, but if it does, then I think we must stand for our principles and keep them out of ITO. To let them continue the boycott and come into ITO opens a door for every oriental country, and indeed for every country in the world, that thinks it has a political grievance of some kind against us to boycott our trade.

7 I do not myself believe that it will do any appreciable harm to our economic interests that the Arab countries should stay temporarily out of ITO until this business of Palestine is settled, and, though I accept the fact that their staying permanently out of ITO would be injurious to our trade, I think it would be much more injurious to theirs; and to let them in on terms that they can continue the boycott is importing a provision into ITO which seems to me to render it less than half the value that it would otherwise have. In other words, it seems to me that, while we lose something if the Arab countries stay permanently out of ITO, they lose a great deal more. And if they are faced with the alternatives of continuing the boycott or joining ITO, I am pretty well convinced that, after making a brave stand for their principles and staying out for a limited period,

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they

they will very soon find some face-saving device for dropping the boycott and coming into the Organisation.

- I will not attempt to suggest a redraft of your paper, since you will, no doubt, wish to consider the matter afresh in the light of my remarks. I shall be very glad to attend a meeting to discuss the matter at any time that suits you, but not after the end of next week, when my leave begins.
- 9. I am sending a copy of this to Lintott at the Board of Trade.

Gunit Comon

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MA

C.R.T. 360/46 W 000 22/1

25th July,1947

Dear Roger,

I have read with interest the paper enclosed with your letter (E.5969/347/31) of 22nd July on the attitude which the U.K.Delegation at Geneva should adopt towards Article 23 of the Draft I.T.O.Charter (Boycotts) and I have also seen Clauson's letter on the same subject of 23rd May. Since, as he points out, this question will come up when Ministers discuss the President's report on the Geneva talks (which will be at the O.E.P. on Monday, July 28th) I do not propose to indulge in any elaborate discussion of the substantive issue now. If you have not already seen a copy of this report you may care to refer to the advance version Harris sent over to Shepherd on the 21st July (the boycott question is dealt with in the point marked 9 (on page 5) and discussed at length in paragraphs 37 to 42 on pages 26-28 of this version).

You will see that the President's submission is intended to give the Delegation authority to settle the question of boycotts at this stage rather than at the World Conference stage in a sense which will permit the Arab League countries to join the I.T.O. Precisely how they do it (whether by means of re-drafting the relevant Article in the form suggested in paragraph 7 of your paper, or by an authoritative statement that the Article in its existing form does not apply to the Arab League boycott) should, in our view, be left to them.

From the Board of Trade point of view, the question is whether the theoretical value of the boycott Article in protecting us against hypothetical boycotts of U.K. or Colonial goods in the future is sufficient to outweigh the value of having Arab League States in the

R.Makins, Esq., C.M.G., Foreign Office, S.W.1.

/I.T.O.

? insulhum!

I.T.O. now. Our view is that it is sufficient. I do not ignore that, at earlier meetings of the Preparatory Committee, it was precisely the Indian and Chinese (as well, of course, as the Lebanese) Delegations which felt doubtful about the boycotts Article. Nevertheless, we feel that the prospects of any of these countries boycotting British goods in the foreseeable future are remote and that, if they become otherwise determined to set such measures in motion, Article 23 of the I.T.O. Charter will not stop them. On the other hand, the disadvantages of our having to apply a non-members Article to the Arab League States and the advantages we should derive from their accepting membership of I.T.O. are real and immediate.

I am copying this letter to Clauson.

Yours ever,

H.S. Lintott

51863

FORMION OFFICE. C.W.1.

# Article 25 of the Draft I.T.O. Charter and the Arab League Morgett.

The United Kingdom Delegation at Geneva have asked for guidance as to whether they sho ld seek to delete, or suitably smend, Article 23 (the Boycott Article) of the F.T.O. Charter in view of the conflict between this and the Arab League boycott against Jewish goods. Representatives of the Foreign Office, Colonial Office and Board of Trade have discussed the matter without reaching agreement. Article 28, at present, a tates that: "No member shall encourage, support or participate in boycoits or other campaigns which are desi ned to directly or indirectly, the consumption within its territory of products of any specific Tember country or countries on grounds of origin, or the sale of products for consumption within other to ber countries on grounds of

object doe not come within the scope of this Article, but the arguments advanced there are unconvincing and the United Kingdom Delegation feel that the are invalid. The opinion of the departmental representative who met bere was unanimously that the United Kingdom (or the Power responsible for Palestine) would be bound under the Article, as it now stands, to challenge the Arab boycott and could not evade doing so by means of any legalistic

interpretation.

Interpretation. Weanwhile the Lebenses

Delegate at Geneva has entered a reservation

in relation to the Article, which indicates that

he also takes the view that the Article would

apply to the Arab boycott.

- the Arab states will stand together on this

  point and we have been told that the Arab Access

  countries will certainly refuse to sign the

  Charter, when the times comes, if it conflicts

  with their ideas about their boycott.

  4. There are four possible courses of
- (a) To leave matters as they stand, i.e. to accept Article 23 with its present wording and with the Lebanese rose vation;

action open to us:

- (b) To seek, while the Preparatory
  Committee is still in session, to delete the
  Article;
- (c) to seek to smend it, while the Preparatory Committee is in Ression, in such a way that it does not apply to "political boycotts";
- (d) To wait until the World Conference and then, if the cituation has not changed, to act as in (b) or (c) above.
- 5. The arguments in favour of the first course are:
- (1) That we should avoid having to climb down on an issue of principle for reasons of expediency.
- (11) That the Arab League countries may give way at the World Conference and agree to lift the boycott, or may join I.T.O. and lift the boycott subsequently when challenged under Article 23.

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- (iii) That direumstances may change,
  e.g. when the Palestine case has been beard by
  the United Nations, the Arabs may not then
  feel so strongly about continuing the boycott.
- (iv) That we should avoid repercussions is our relations with the Jews.
- (v) That if we wish to make further representations against the boycott on other grounds, or of Palestine wishes to make representations under existing agreements with Egypt and Syria, the likelihood of success would be greatly reduced by a retreat at Seneva or the World Conference.
- 6. Against this course it may be argued:
- (a) That the Arab League States are unlikely to climb down and will prefer to stay out of I.T.O., or leave I.T.O. if challenged about the boycott.
- (b) That nothing is likely to happen in the near future, e.g. in the United Nations assembly, to change Arab feelings.

Consequently (c) that it is fairly certain, if Article 23 recains, that the Arab countries will be outside I.T.O. and

- that I.T.G. would afford of keeping a check on the Arab States in matter of international trade.
- (c) That there might also be a tendency, if the U.S.C.R. remains outside I.T.C., for other non-members to seek or accept closer commercial relations with her. In the Middle Nest any such tendency would have serious political implications.

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(f) Above all, that the Article as it now stands is unlikely to be of much use as a weapon against the Arab boycott. If the Article is left as it is, the Arab States join I.T.O., and the United Kingdom as the Power responsible for Palestine is thus obliged to challenge them on the subject of the boycott, the result would be, either (1) that the Arabs would ignore the challenge and it would be decided not to invoke Article 35 (the sanctions article); or (11) that Article 35 would be invoked, but members would be devided on the political issues and no clearout decision could be reached by the Organization. which would lower the prestige of both the Organization and the Charter; or (111) that sanctions would be imposed; which might force the Arabe out of I.T.O. and in any case Would do great harm to our relations with them. On balance it would seem undesirable to leave Article 23 as it is. The question therefore arises whether we should try to have it deleted. or whether an amendment would be preferable. The former may be held to constitute too great a retreat on our part and it is unlikely that it would be accepted by other Delegations at Geneva. There is therefore, much to be said for a compromise. and our Delegation have suggested a re draft of the Article on the following lines:

"No member shall incourage, support, or participate in, campaigns designed for economic motives to discourage or reduce the consumption within 13s territory of the products or of a particular exast.

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Reference: 6 371 51863

This would leave it open for the Arab boycott to continue (but, as pointed out above, the Article in its present form would in any case be unlikely to put a stop to this boycott). It would prohibit boycotts from sconomic motives (with which alone the I.T.G. will be competent to deal), and might prove acceptable to the other members.

There remains the question whether action should be taken now, or postponed until the World Conference. The main argument for postponement is that the hearing of the Palestine case y the General Assembly of the United Mations might have such results as to cause the Areb States to lift the boycott and make it unnecessary for Article 23 to be amended to all. But it cannot be said that this outcome seems at all probable. On the other hand, postponement has the disadvantages: (a) that it may be far more difficult, perhaps impossible, to smend or delete the Article at the World Conference when it has already been paesed at Geneva. It will not be easy to amond the article even in the smaller circle of the Preparatory Committee, but at Genove we have to deal only with the Lebenon: (b) hat if we retreat before the Arabe under the spotlight of a World Conference, their triumph will be greater and the adverse repercussions elsewhere will be magnified. 9. On the whole therefore it seems undesirable to postpone the issue, and it is therefore suggested that the United Kingdom Delegation to the Proparatory Committee be

instructed ...

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1 2 3 4 5 6 Reference: F 371 31863

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instructed to try to secure an amendment to Article 23 on the lines suggested in paragraph 7 above.

FOREIGN OFFICE. .....

( 5969 347/31)

22nd July, 1947.

between representatives of the Colonial Offic., Board of Trade and Foreign Office to see if agreement could be reached on the instructions to be sent to the United Kingdom Delegation at Geneva in reply to their telegram No. 924 of the 7th July, on the attitude which they should adopt towards Article 23 of the Draft Charter, with particular reference to the Arab boycott of Lioniat 80005.

- 2. Ho agreement was reached at this meeting as the Colonial Office representatives deprecated any attempt to amend or delate the Article, while our attitude was that it would in highly undesirably to leave the Article as it is.
- to the question and I enclose a paper setting out our view of the atter? We for our part are thoroughly convinced that the article in its present form would, in practice, be ineffective in stopping the arab boycott (paragraph 6 (f) on the paper) and that it would at the same time have most undesirable consequence (paragraph 6 (c) (d) and (e) of the paper).
  - 4. I should be most grateful for your views and ...

ir Gerard Clauson, K.C.W.G., O.B. ., Colonial Office.

PUBL I C RECORD OFFI . Seemby 00 **GD** 

and those of Lintott to whom I am copying this. If you agree we can send instructions to Geneva immediately. If not, shall we have a meeting or do you wish the matter to be referred to Ministers?

(R. G. Makine)

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Copies to:-

Registry No.	70
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX	F. O.,
	Despatched M.
Draft. J.K. Delegation, GENEVA	MOST IMMEDIATE
Telegram.	Your telegrams Nos 1253 (Article 23 7 2) 769
No	In accordance with the Cabinet decision
(Date)	you should at once approach the Lebanese
Repeat to:-	Delegate and make a further attempt to reach
	agreement on the text of a boycott article
	which would not be an obstacle to the entry
	of the Arab States into I.T.O. The draft
	contained in paragraph 5 of your telegram
	No. 924 offers a possible line of approach.
	2. If you fail to reach agreement with the
	Lebanese before the meeting at which the fate
	of Article 23 must be decided, you have dis-
	cretion to tote in favour of the U.S. proposal
	or to abstain from voting. The latter course
HM-Olhik. Garde.	would be preferable if you do not think that
Cypher.	our abstention would endanger the motion.
Distribution :—	If you think there is a prospect of an agreement
nte <b>r</b> national	with the Lebanese but you are unable to agree
Trade	on a text before Tuesday morning, you should,
	if possible, endeavour to secure a further
	postponement.

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XXXXXX C.T.C.

U.K. Delegation, GENEVA

NEUTRAL

OST IMMSDIATE

No 1417

Jule acy: 11

Following for Marten from Crowe. -Your telegram No. 1253 [Article 23]

In accordance with the Cabinet decision you should at once approach the Lebanese Delegate and make a terther attempt to reach agreement on the text of a boycott article which would not be an obstacle to the entry of the Arab States into I.T.O. The draft contained in paragraph 5 of your telegram No. 924 offers a possible line of approach.

- If you fail to reach agreement with the Lebanese before the meeting at which the fate of Article 23 must be decided, you have discretion to vote in favour of the U.S. proposal The latter course or to abstain from voting. would be preferable if you do not think that our abstention would endanger the metion.
- 3. If you think there is a prospect of an agreement with the Lebanese but you are unable to agree on a text before Tuesday morning, you should, if possible, endeavour to secure a further postponement.

CB. 1/8.

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Trade

UE Secret

Cypher/OTP

# INTERNATIONAL TRADE DISTRIBUTION

## FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO GENEVA

(To United Kingdom Delegation)

No. 1417

D. 7.25 p.m. 11th August, 1947.

11th August, 1947.

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#### MOST IMMEDIATE

#### NEUTRAL

Your telegram No. 1253 [Article 23].

Following for Marten from Crowe.

In accordance with the Cabinet decision you should at once approach the Lebanese Delegate and make a further attempt to reach agreement on the text of a boycott article which would not be an obstacle to the entry of the Arab States into I.T.O.

- 2. If you fail to reach agreement with the Lebanese before the meeting at which the fate of Article 23 must be decided, you have discretion to vote in favour of the United States proposal or to abstain from voting. The latter course would be preferable if you do not think that our abstention would endanger the proposal.
- with the Lebanese but you are unable to agree on a text before Tuesday morning, you should, if possible, endeavour to secure a further postponement.

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Cypher/OTP

# INTERNATIONAL TRADE DISTRIBUTION

## FROM UNITED KINGDOM DELEGATION GENEVA TO FOREIGN OFFICE

No.1515

D. 9.16 p.m. 16th August, 1947

16th August, 1947

R.12.05 .... 17th August, 1947

IMPORTANT

NEUTRAL

SECRET

E.7575

Our telegram No.1576 and connected correspondence. Boycotts.

It proved impossible to come to an arrangement with Lebanese delegation for an amendment of article 23 such as might have satisfied them since only solution which seemed feasible on these lines was quite unacceptable to United States delegation. This was for an amendment which would have limited the article to prevention of boycotts designed for economic motives.

2. Discussion with United States delegation, however, produced scheme for coupling with their motion for the deletion of the article, the insertion of a note in the report of the Preparatory Committee, final version of which read as follows:-

[Begins].

In omitting from the Charter provisions relating to boycotts, such as appeared in earlier drafts, the Committee did not wish to imply any condenation of beycotts but considered that this problem would be most effectively dealt with by the provisions of the charter relating to consultation among members and to the possible nullification or impairment of the benefits of the charter.

IEnds].

This solution, if Lebanese delegation would have accepted it, seemed to us much better from our point of view than the emasculation of the article. At the meeting of Commission A on 15th August however opposition to removal effecticle started to build up on grounds of principle, and although Lebanese delegation were apparently in favour of deletion despite the proposed note, gave notice of their 

intention

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			Reference:	6	Us.	*	w	2	1

intention to propose an amendment to Article 25, effect of which would be to permit the following exception to the general prohibition of quantitative restrictions.

[Begins].

by a member before 10th April 1947 with the object of createcting a vital national interest. The prohibitions above shall be removed as soon as the circumstances which gave rise to them have ceased to exist.

TADE BILL PL

[Ends].

- 4. In view of probability of close vote, United Kingdom delegation, in accordance with instructions, indicated their agreement with United States proposal for deletion of article, but in view of Lebanese threat in respect of Article 25, emphasised the fact that their assent to deletion would be conditional upon the proposal note.
- 5. When the matter was put to the vote the motion to delete the article was lost by seven to six, United Kingdom voting with the minority.

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(Minutes.)

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Wt 24772/717 17855 10/38 F.O.P.

British Legation,
Damascus.

67/54/47.

E :8004

21 st August, 1947.

SEP

Dear Department,

With reference to correspondence about the boycott of Jewish goods by the Arab states, you may be interested to hear that, according to the local press, the Syrian Government press department have issued an official communique stating that a certain Kazem Rashed al Zamriq (a Moslem) of the Meidan Quarter of Damascus has been sentenced to three years imprisonment with hard labour to be followed by three years expulsion from Syria by the Criminal Court of Damascus for possessing and selling Zionist goods. The goods in question have been confiscated and are to be sold by order of the Court, the proceeds to be paid into the Arab fund for the redemption of lands in Palestine.

We are sending a copy of this letter to the Government Secretariat at Jerusalem.

Yours ever,

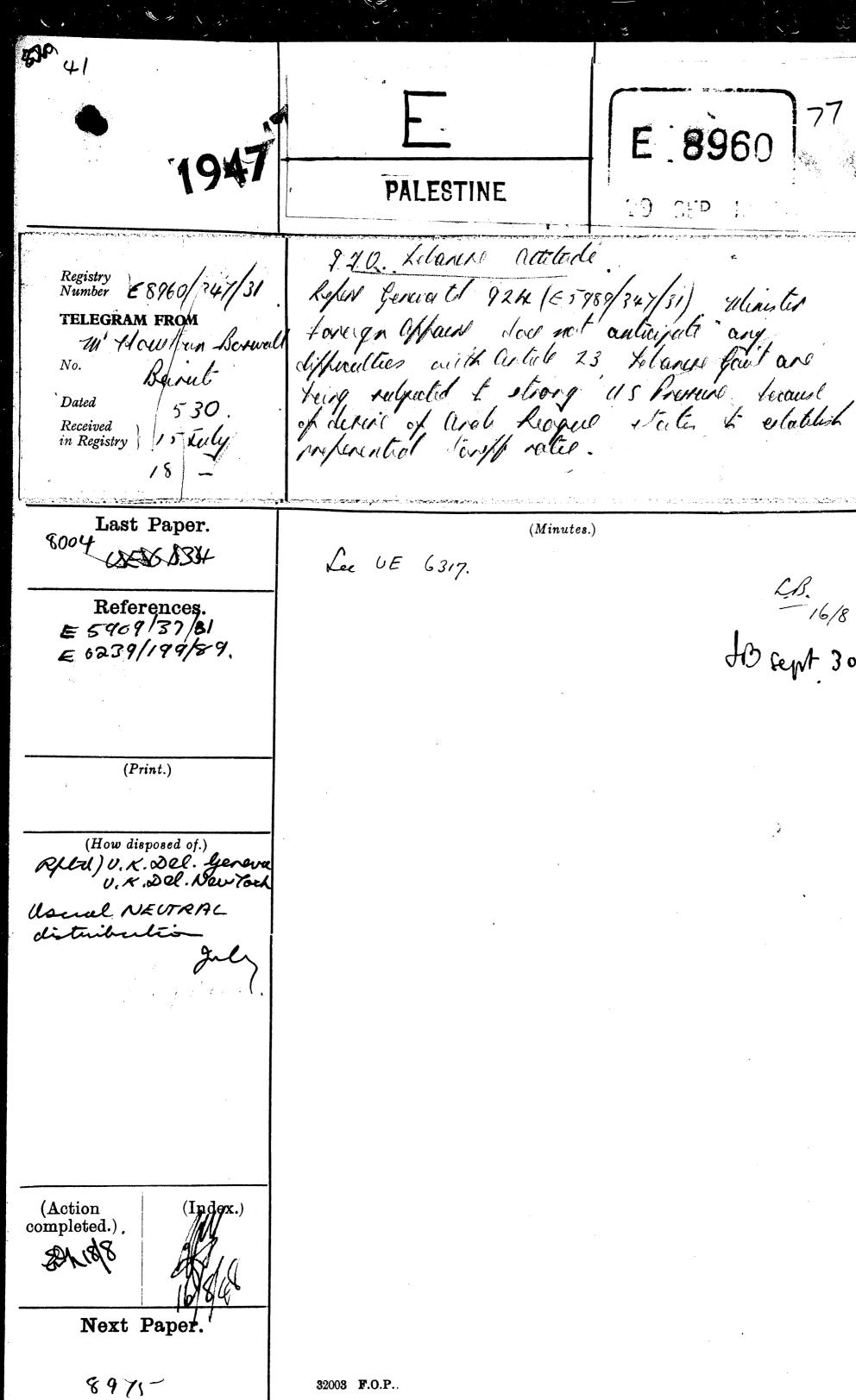
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Eastern Department, Foreign Office, LONDON, S.W.1.

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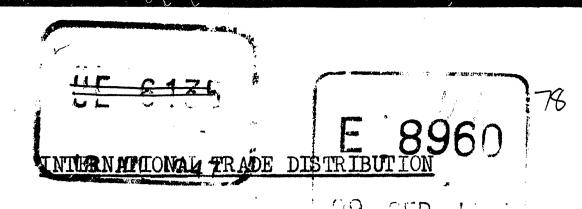
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OFFICE,

32003 F.O.P.



Cypher/OTP

### FROM BEIRUT TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Mr Houstoun Boswall D. 7. 35 p.m. 15th July, 1947. No. 530

R. 2. 10 a.m. 16th July, 1947.

15th July, 1947.

Repeated to Cairo
United Kingdom Delegation Geneva
United Kingdom Delegation New York
Damascus (Saving)

2222

#### NEUTRAL

United Kingdom Delegation Geneva telegram No. 924 to you.

International Trade Organisation.

When I saw him on July 14th Minister for Foreign Affairs asked me if I had had any news from Geneva. I replied that I had heard of difficulties centering round article 23 but had no doubt that His Excellency would have been fully informed by Moubarak who has now returned here. Minister for Foreign Affairs brushed this aside with a remark to the effect that he did not anticipate any great difficulty about article 23, to which he implied rather than said that he did not attach any great practical importance. He then went on to tell me that the Lebanese Government were being subjected to very strong pressure by the United States Legation on the subject of the desire of the States of the Arab League to establish some form of preferential tariff rates between themselves. This is of course in connexion with negotiations for a Lebanese -American commercial treaty (see my telegram No. 517 paragraph 2).

Foreign Office please pass to United Kingdom Delegation Geneva as my telegram No. 3 and New York as my telegram No. 6.

[Repeated to United Kingdom Delegation Geneva and United Kingdom Delegation New York].



Draft. UNITED KINGDOM DELEGATION GENEVA. Telegram. MINISTRY OF SUPPL ase despatch this telegram Rhant **2**8 JH 1947 OUTFILE

Barnes, Ministry of Supply U.K. Delegation, Geneva.

From: Hutchinson.

- Understand from Board of Trade that Lebanom - Syria have requested binding free entry on U.K. tariff on licorice root.
- (2) Bulk of U.K. supplies of this root are at present being imported from Turkey. Quantities coming from Lebanom - Syria are relatively small. Full statistics of prewar imports sent by air bag.
- It seems a matter of consideration whether we bargain with Lebanom - Syria on this item; nevertheless there seems little possibility that the necessity of imposing an import duty on licorice root will ever arise and we would have no objection to the binding of free

Confidential

Cypher/OTP

DEPARTMENTAL NO.1.

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO GENEVA (UNITED KINGDOM DELEGATION)

No. 1282 D. 1.45 p.m. July 29th, 1947. July 29th, 1947.

#### SSSSS

For Barnes from Hutchinson.

Understand from Board of Trade that Lebanon-Syria have requested binding free entry on United Kingdom tariff on licorice root.

- 2. Bulk of United Kingdom supplies of this root are at present being imported from Turkey. Quantities coming from Lebanon Syria are relatively small. Full statistics of pre-war imports sent by air bag.
- we bargain with Lebanon Syria on this item; nevertheless there seems little possibility that the necessity of imposing an import duty on licorice root will ever of imposing an import duty on licorice root will ever arise and we would have no objection to the binding of free entry.

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(Action completed.)

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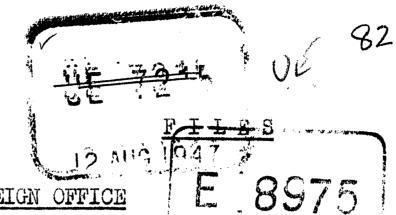
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32003 F.O.P.

Cyphen/OTP



GENEVA TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(From United Kingdom Delegation)

No. 1253 8th August, 1947

D. 8.16 p.m. 8th August, 1947 R. 9.28 p.m. 8th August, 1947

ddddddd

#### IMMEDIATE

#### SECRET

Following for Crow from Marten.

My telegram No. 1241. 70/1/2/

In Commission A this evening Leddy (United States of America) said that his delegation would be happy to see Article 23 deleted from the Charter. The Lebanon-Syria Delegation was absent (preparing for a party) and only India actually spoke in support of it. Van Der Post (South Africa) said that his Delegation could not accept the United States proposal at any rate without further consideration and Holmes suggested that the matter should be considered later (as forecast in paragraph 2 of my 1241).

- This was agreed. I personally have a feeling that the Preparatory Committee would accept the United States proposal if we supported it, and that its passing would hardly be noticed. You know the arguments in favour of this course, and I hope you will find it possible to raise the matter again.
- Can you arrange for the contents of my telegram No. 1241 and of this telegram to be circulated to those concerned in Foreign Office, Colonial Office and the Board of Trade? We shall now require a clear-cut decision as to whether we should support or oppose the United States proposal not later than Thursday next week (14th Agguilt).

nt to Mr. Crowe, Economic Relations]

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UE 7274 17 Allic 1047

CYPHER/OTP

INTERNATIONAL TRADE DISTRIBUTION

FROM GENEVA TO FOREIGN OFFICE

E 8976

(United Kingdom Delegation)

Mr. Wilson. No. 1.279.

D: 4.33 p.m. 12th August, 1947.

12th August, 1947.

R: 4.45 p.m. 12th August, 1947.

**@@**@ **@**@@

IMMED LATE

SECRET

UE1072/37/53.

Following for Crowe from Marten.

Your telegram No. 1,417 and Darby's No. 1,273 to Davies, Colonial Office.

Commission A decided this morning to postpone discussion of Article 23 until 10.30 a.m. Friday 15th August.

- 2. We propose to act on the instructions contained in paragraph 1 of your telegram No. 1,417 on Thursday, thereby allowing the Colonial Office the maximum time to consider Darby's telegram No. 1,273. We imagine the Colonial Office will anyhow wish to warn the Government of Palestine of the impending amendment to Article 23.
- 3. We propose to suggest to the Lebanon-Syria Delegation on Thursday that they should accept the text given in paragraph 5 of our telegram No. 924 of 7th July. The only amendments so far actually suggested are the alternatives by the Lebanon-Syria Delegation given in paragraph 2 of our telegram No. 425 of 16th May. Here the criterion which would exempt a boycott from the scope of Article 23 is "vital national interests." We are reluctant to see this introduced anywhere in the Charter as the criterion for a let-out, as it might spread like measles to other Articles and eventually contaminate the whole Charter and we said this at the time.
- Delegation that the latter will put forward our text as their amendment and that we shall then indicate briefly that we support it. We should not however agree to this unless the prior concurrence of the United States Delegation can be obtained. We should also attempt to obtain South African agreement in advance and mention it to the Indian Delegation as well.

Reference: FC 371 51863

5. If we failed to get the prior concurrence of either the Lebanon-Syria or United States Delegations we should fall back on the suggestion in paragraph 2 of your telegram. No. 1,417, abstaining if possible.

6. Foreign Office please send copies of this telegram to Davies Colonial Office and Harris Board of Trade with immediate priority.

[Advance copies sent to Mr. Davies, Colonial Office, and Mr. Harris, Board of Trade.]



Dover House, 85A Whitehall, S.W.1.

14th August, 1947.

Dear Crowe,

I should be grateful if you could send the attached telegram as soon as possible to Darby at Geneva.

Recident St.

Yours sincerely,

(T.W. Davies)

C.T. Crowe, Esq., Foreign Office.

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TELEGRAM

U.K. DELECATION, GENEVA.

TELNO. 1440 DATE Angly

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Dist. Int. Trade MPLIANT:

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NEUTRAL

Following for Darby

from Davies.

Your telegram No. 1279 and your telegram No. 1273.

Article 23.

I think some confusion has arisen from the fact that so many of these telegrams take the form of personal messages.

Actually, telegram No. 1417 was sent as a result of ministerial decision in which, of course, our Secretary of State concurred.

Action upon it need not, therefore, be deferred. Letter follows.

15/8

(C)

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Cypher/OTP.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE DISTRIBUTION.

# FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO UNITED KINGDOM DELEGATION. GENEVA.

No. 1440.

D. 1.45 p.m. 15th August 1947.

15th August 1947.

W:W:W:W

IMPORTANT.

NEUTRAL.

Following for Darby from Davies.

Your telegram No.1279 and your telegram No.1273.

Article 23.

I think some confusion has arisen from the fact that so many of these telegrams take the form of personal messages. Actually, telegram No.1417 was sent as a result of ministerial decision in which, of course, our Secretary of State concurred. Action upon it need not, therefore, be deferred. Letter follows.

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Next Paper.

Mr Barley. I gather all the pp.

dealing with the Arab [ragues
boycott are entired E &

I have therefore hunted up

any which shill remained remanited
This is The lot, except for UE 7072/37/53 which wo can't at the moment local. Will you get them returned FW Martin 12 Divisia practin

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Cypher/OTP

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INTERNATIONAL TRADE DISTRIBUTION

FROM UNITED KINGDON DELEGATION GENEVA TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Mr. Helmore No. 1299 15th August, 1947

D. 7.25 p.m. 15th August, 1947 R. 7.30 p.m. 15th August, 1947

88888

#### IMMEDIATE.

### CONFIDENTIAL.

Following for Crowe from Marten. My telegram No. 1279. U = 7278

Scheme outlined in paragraph 3 did not find favour with United States Delegation. We therefore acted as forecast in paragraph 5, but United States motion for deletion of Article 25 was defeated by 7 votes to 6.

[Copy sent to Mr. Crowe]

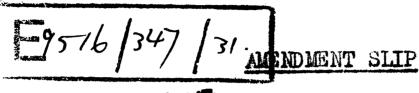


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Next Paper.

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Wt. 24772/717 17895 10/38 F.O.P.



92

o ngt 1947

## DEPARTMENTAL NO. 2

Telegram No. 948 of 13th October from Bagdad to Foreign Office.

Paragraph 2. Line 1 should now read:

"This came to my notice when bags .. "

Paragraph 3. Line 3 read:

"... written to the High Supply Committee".

JB out. 21

COMMUNICATIONS DEPARTMENT

20th October, 1947.

6 Reference: FO 371 51863

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# FROM BAGDAD TO FOREIGN OFFICE.

Mr. Pelham.
No. 948.

D. 10.11 a.m. 13th October 1947.

13th October 1947.

R. 11.50 a.m. 13th October 1947.

Repeated to: Cairo,

Tehran. Jerusalem.

0-414

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IMMEDIATE.

RESTRICTED.

14 OCT

My telegrams Nos. 667 and 710.

Only recently have Iraqi Government actually applied boycott to goods arriving in Bagdad by air in aircraft which have only touched down at Lydda and to goods which have been trans-shipped at Lydda. This is also being applied to goods landed at Bagdad which are destined for Tehran.

- 2. This [gps. undec.] maintained when bags addressed to this Embassy were impounded by the Customs on arrival. Immediately made strong representations and instructions have been issued that all diplomatic and official mail is not to be interfered with.
- 3. On my further representations on behalf of industry and commerce the Ministry of Foreign Affairs have written to the High [gp. undec.] Committee of which Prime Minister is Chairman requesting exemption of goods consigned to B.O.A.C. and oil companies. I do not expect any result until the Prime Minister returns.
- 4. Director General of Foreign Affairs has stated for political reasons nothing can be done to exempt ordinary commercial air freight from confiscation. I pointed out the absurdity of this rule which only does harm to the Iraqis themselves. I will again take matter up with the Prime Minister on his return but I am not confident of success.
- 5. For Tehran only. I agree to suggestion in your telegram No. 285. Pressure by Persian Government may help.

W:W:W:W 14 OCT

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1 2 3 \* 5 6 Reference: F 371 52863

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(Action completed.) Next Paper.

10748

Wt. 24772/717 17895 10/38 F.O.P.

En Clair (By Confidential Bag) DEPARTMENTAL NO.2.

## FROM BEIRUT TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Mr. Evans. No.69 SAVING

R.

24th October, 1947.

Repeated to Cairo Embassy No.66

Cairo B.M.E.O. No.51

Bagdad No.96

Jerusalem No.69

Damascus No.253

Amman No.102

Jedda No.101

E 9568

My telegram No.759.

25 OCT

# Palestine: Arab Boycott of Zionist goods.

The Lebanese Prime Minister has informed me that at meeting of Arab League Council on October 15th it was decided (1) to re-inforce boycott of Zionist goods (2) to call an Arab League Economic Conference to study means of minimising ill-effects of boycott on economy of Arab States, particularly by finding alternative markets for Arab goods.

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Cypher/OTP

DEPARTMENTAL NO. 2

#### FROM BAGDAD TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Mr. Busk No. 1027

D. 10.25 a.m. 5th November, 1947.

4th November, 1947.

R. 11.00 a.m. 5th November, 1947.

Repeated to : Cairo

Tehran

Jerusalem

1110348

My telegram No. 948.

Note verbale has now been received stating that goods consigned by air (repeat air) to Iraq or other countries which pass through Palestine are exempted from boycott regulations and will be released by Iraqi Customs.

- 2. Goods originating in Palestine and sent by land, sea or air are strictly prehibited.
- 3. Goods sent by land or sea which pass through Palestine are prehibited.
- 4. I suggest that all air transport companies should be advised to ensure that goods which might be transhipped at Lydda are contained on a through Bill of Lading. There has been some trouble over some air freight which withough in transit from the west, has been given new documents at Lydda.

(A)

M



Draft. Mr. Busk Bagdad Telegram. No. 1121 Repeat to :-Cypher. Distribution :— Departmental No.2

Copies to :--

Mr. Couldrey,

Board of TraceCEIVED

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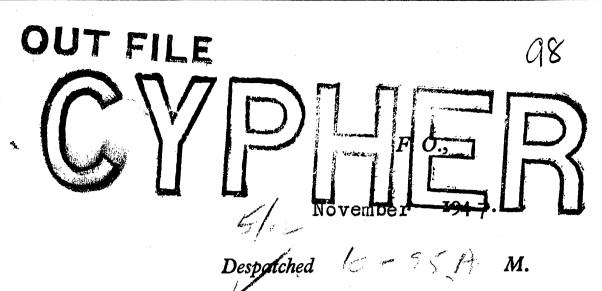
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No. E 10348/347/31



SECRET!

Your telegram No. 1027 / of 4th November: Iraqi boycott of goods passing through Palestine7.

According to the American Embassy here the State Department have received a report from their Bagdad mission dated 8th November reporting that all goods passing through Palestine in transit whether carried by land, sea or air are subject to the boycott and liable to confiscation on arrival in Iraq by the Iraqi customs without redress. The State Department are contemplating representations to the Iraqi Government and have enquired what our attitude is.

2. It appears from your telegram under reference that the American Embassy's report is inaccurate. If you see no objection I should be grateful if you would draw their attention to the true facts. As regards further representations to the Iraqi Government I do not think that the present moment is at all propitious and propose to ask the American Embassy here to discourage the ideal making I shall be getthe for you

E.10348/347/31.

Secret.

Cypher/OTP.

DEPARTMENTAL NO. 2.

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO BAGDAD.

No.1121.
D. 10.25 a.m. 5th December, 1947.

4th December, 1947.

### SECRET.

Your telegram No. 1027 [of 4th November: Iraqi boycott of goods passing through Palestine].

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2. It appears from your telegram under reference that the American Embassy's report is inaccurate. If you see no objection I should be grateful if you would draw their attention to the true facts. As regards further representations to the Iraqi Government I do not think that the present moment is at all propitious and propose to ask the American Embassy here to discourage the State Department from making any. I should be grateful for your comments.

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DEPARTMENTAL NO. 8

# FROM BAGDAD TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Mr. Busk No. 1269

D. 8.32 a.m. 10th December, 1947.

9th December, 1947.

R. 9.17 a.m. 10th December, 1947.

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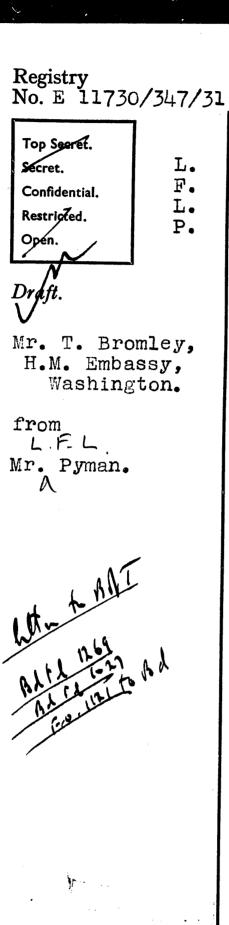
Your telegram No. 1121.

10348/347/31

American report of November oth was inaccurate. Pesition is as set out in my telegram No. 1027.

- 2. United States Chargé d'Affaires received instructions to protest but asked my advice first. I said that I saw no chance of success, and that anyhow United States Embassy were in no position to make such representations. He agreed and will, I gather, do nothing.
- J. Pesitien has been carefully explained to the United States Commercial Secretary. Incidentally this is the second eccasion in the last menth that he has get United States Embassy into a mess by sending inaccurate reports. Other was tendencious report about cereals in Iraq.

MM



OUT FILE FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1. [50]  $\mathcal{R}$  December, 1947.

Ry dear Tom,

I enclose a copy of a letter which I have written to the Board of Trade about the Iraqi boycott of goods passing through Palestine, together with copies of the telegrams exchanged with Bagdad on the subject.

I do not think het there is any had for you to say anything. to the State Dynatural, but I hought you might to have the conspondence.

Yours ever

(Sqd.) Lance Ryman, (L. F. L. Pyman)

FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.

18th December, 1947.

(E 11730/347/31)

Confidential.

By dear Tom,

I enclose a copy of a letter which
I have written to the Board of Trade about
the Iraqi boycott of goods passing through
Palestine, together with copies of the telegrams
exchanged with Bagdad on the subject.

I do not think that there is any need for you to say anything to the State Department, but I thought you ought to have the correspondence.

Yours over

(Sqd.) Lance Pyman.

(L.F.L. Pyman)

T. Bromley, Esq., Washington.

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No. E 11730/347/31OUT FILE Registry Top Secret. L.

F.

FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.

December, 1947.

You told me some time ago that the United States Embassy here had raised with you the question of the Iraqi boycott of goods passing through Palestine referred to in Bagdad telegram No. 1027 of the 4th November. You will remember that as a result of discussions with the United States Embassy here we sent a

telegram to Bagdad (No. 1121 of the 4th

December) of which we sent you a copy.

I now enclose a copy of the reply which we have received from Bagdad. I have passed on the gist of it to the United States Embassy here who had already received a rather similar report from Bagdad. They are quite clear that the United States Government will not now be making any representations and the matter can be regarded as dead.

I am copying the exchange of telegrams to our Embassy at Washington for their information. 46/12

Mr. R.C. Couldrey Board of Trade from L.F.L. Mr. Pyman.

Secret.

Öpen.

Draft.

Confidential. Restricted.

(30) (30) (50)

105 RND

FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.

18th December, 1947.

(E 11730/347/31)

Confidential

Dear Couldrey,

You told me some time ago that the United States Embassy here had raised with you the question of the Iraqi boycott of goods passing through Palestine referred to in Bagdad telegram No. 1027 of the 4th November. You will remember that as a result of discussions with the United States Embassy here we sent a telegram to Bagdad (No. 1121 of the 4th December) of which we sent you a copy.

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Yours sincerely

(Sed.) (L.F.L. Pyman)

R.C. Couldrey, Esq., Board of Trade.